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Cover: Unfinished mantle border. Peru, south coast, probably Paracas, Early Intermediate Period Epoch 1 (ca. 400–300 B.C.). Plain weave (cotton) embroidered in stem stitch (probably alpaca fiber). The Textile Museum, 91.101. The image shows men wearing tunics decorated with trophy heads and holding trophy heads in their hands. The significance of the shoulder sticks is unknown.

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Origin and Structure of Buddhist Clothes

The Buddha wore rags. Or so it is said in Buddhist literature, although one should be careful to note the historical context of such reports. It would be misleading to convey an image of Gautama dressed in tattered trousers and patched shirt. The garments of ancient India were draped clothing, antecedents of the modern sari, rather than clothes that were cut and sewn to the shape of the human body. People in Buddha's day, late sixth century B.C., dressed in single pieces of cloth as it came from the loom, and wrapped and draped this yardage about the body in a variety of ways. A similar style of dress existed in ancient Greece and Rome, and can be seen today in parts of Africa and Southeast Asia, as well as in India.

A ragged sari or toga is a different cloak of humility than a jacket with frayed collar and worn elbows. How does one make a humble garment of a draped piece of clothing? One possibility is to gather small pieces of fabric and patch or piece them together to make a usable whole from assorted fragments, rather than using one luxurious length of cloth newly woven. The *Vinaya*, that part of Buddhist canonical scripture that deals with the code of discipline governing the life of the religious order, records the inspiration for the way in which these assorted cloth fragments are joined together.¹ The Buddha, it is said, during one of his travels, noted the arrangement of the well-tended rice fields. These consisted of the paddies themselves, with the verdant growth of new rice plants, as well as the levees that ran between the rice fields, enclosing and supporting each individual paddy. The overall arrangement of the fields appeared more like a brickwork pattern than a checkerboard. The Buddha, as he gazed at the rice fields stretching across the landscape, was struck by the distinctness of each part as well as the integrity of the whole. He told his disciple Ananda to construct a rectangularly shaped cloak with an arrangement of parts like the paddies and levees of the rice fields, and to teach this method of construction to the other monks. This distinctive cloak of patches was to be an outward sign of the religious community's vows of poverty and humility, as well as a style of dress that would distinguish the followers of Buddha from other ascetic practitioners of ancient India.²

As a precaution against greed, Buddhist priests and nuns were allowed to possess only the bare minimum of goods needed to survive. The number of items allowed differs somewhat depending upon the school of Buddhism, but generally the number is under 10.³ These include three patched robes, an alms-bowl in which to collect food while begging, a razor for shaving the head, a stool or mat, a needle with which to repair one's robes, and a strainer used to filter water so that the lives of any small insects might be saved. The three patched or pieced robes are referred to as

the *san-ne*,⁴ literally "three clothes," but they can be described more precisely as the three *cloths*, since these garments are nothing more than patched sheets of fabric. Each cloth is pieced in a slightly different manner, and each has its own name. These are *antaravāsaka*, *uttarāsaṅgha*, and *sanghātī*,⁵ and are pieced together from, respectively, five, seven, and nine vertical panels.⁶

To clarify the structure of these pieced Buddhist robes, it is helpful to discuss here the various parts of a typical *uttarāsaṅgha*. As can be seen from Figs. 1 and 2, the garment is rectangularly shaped and is composed of seven vertical panels. Each panel is divided into three parts, two long and one short, and the panels are sewn together so that the lines of the horizontal piecing alternate across the surface. Fig. 1 shows an example in which the divisions in the garment are formed by overlapping seams (somewhat similar to flat-felled seams). Fig. 2 shows a layout identical in its arrangement of patches, but in this example separate pieces of

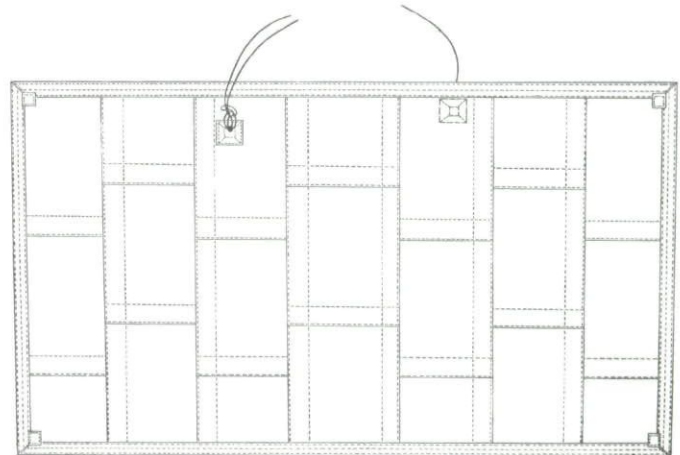


Fig. 1. Seven-panel Buddhist robe. Garment is constructed with overlapping seams. All rights reserved, Keichū Kyūma, Kesa no Kenkyū.

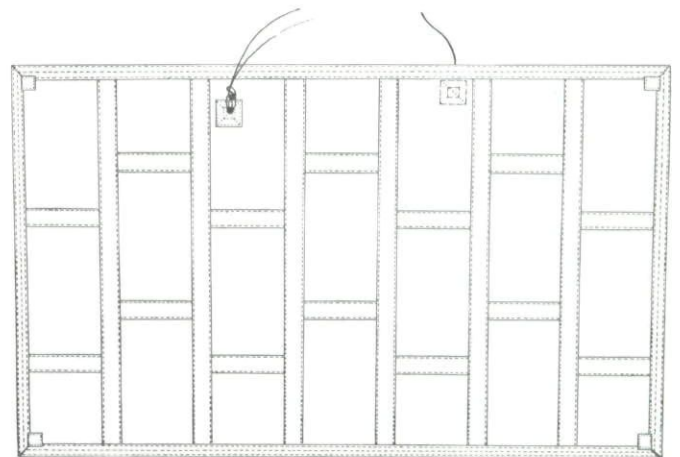


Fig. 2. Seven-panel Buddhist robe. Garment uses lattice-strip construction. All rights reserved, Keichū Kyūma, Kesa no Kenkyū.

fabric, here termed lattice strips, are used to form the divisions in the garment. These two styles—overlapping seams and lattice strips—are the two basic methods of construction used in Buddhist robes. The arrangement of patches and lattice strips suggests rice paddies and levees, and the overall pieced structure of the garment represents the rice fields. The robe is enclosed and supported by a border. At each of the four corners is an added square of cloth, in addition to two tabs within the body of the robe toward the upper edge. These six additional pieces were originally functional in nature, serving to reinforce areas of stress and providing a means for fastening the garment, but with time they have taken on symbolic meanings.⁷ The four corner patches are often referred to as the *Shitennō*, or “Four Heavenly Kings,” which guard the four cardinal points of the universe.⁸ The two tabs within the body of the garment are seen variously as representing the *Ni-o* (the two Guardian Deva Kings, Brahma and Indra) or the two Bodhisattvas who sit on the right and left hand of the Buddha (Monju and Fugen).⁹ Taking this symbolism one step further, the central panel of the robe comes to symbolize the Buddha himself.

Each of the *san-ne*, or three clothes, is constructed as just described, differing only in the number of panels and the relative size. In order to facilitate an explanation of the various uses¹⁰ of the *san-ne* (see Fig. 3), the following is a brief review of the Japanese terminology for these robes. The Japanese transliteration for the pieced robe of a Buddhist monk or nun is *kesa*.¹¹ The names of the *san-ne* are simply descriptive terms noting the number of panels in each garment. Thus, there is the five-panel *gojō-gesa*, the seven-panel *shichijō-gesa*, and the nine-panel *kujō-gesa*.¹² Generally speaking the *gojō-gesa* is the smallest robe (approximately three feet by five feet), with each additional robe increasing proportionately in size.

The five-panel *gojō-gesa* is considered the most basic and humble of the three robes. As an item of draped clothing, it was originally worn like a sarong, and is sometimes called the “inner skirt.” As befits its humble status, it is for daily use and is worn when a Buddhist cleric is alone or performing such physical tasks as cleaning the temple, preparing food, and so forth. In the company of other members of the religious community, the *shichijō-gesa* is worn, and is the typical garment for a monk or nun participating in a religious ceremony. Its original use is reflected in the term “upper garment.” The *kujō-gesa* is used when mixing with laity, and thus when teaching or preaching. It is sometimes referred to as the “stole,” and indeed in Ceylon and Burma it is still worn as such. It is the largest of the three robes, but the Hinayana Buddhists of Southeast Asia fold it into a long narrow stole and wear it draped over the left shoulder.¹³ The three distinct robes can be seen as seasonal garments. During warm weather the *gojō-gesa* would be sufficient, but in the cooler

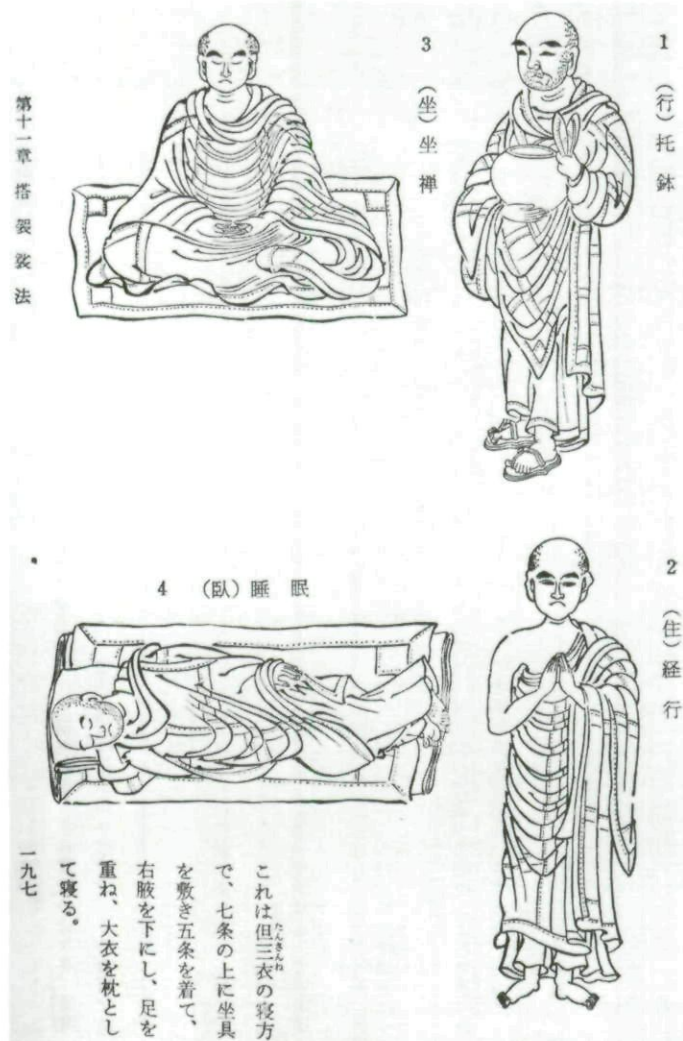


Fig. 3. Various uses of the *san-ne*, or three clothes: #1, a mendicant monk; #2, a monk changing sutras; #3, a monk in meditation; and #4, the correct posture for sleep. All rights reserved, Keichū Kyūma, *Kesa no Kenkyū*.

months the two additional layers serve to protect the body from the cold. During winter meditation sessions the Buddha would wear, according to the *Vinaya*, a *gojō-gesa* in the evening, and in the middle of the night as the temperature dropped, he would put on the *shichijō-gesa*, finally adding the *kujō-gesa* in the coldest hours of the night before dawn.¹⁴

This manner of wearing the *san-ne* is suited to the climate of India, the birthplace of Buddhism. As the religion spread into Central Asia and China, the use of only three robes became impractical because of the severe cold of the winter months in these northern regions. Consequently, the *kesa* eventually came to be worn on top of the native dress of these areas. By the time Buddhism reached Japan via China and Korea in the sixth century A.D., over one thousand years of Buddhist history had passed, during which changes inevitably occurred in the manner in which the *kesa* was worn

and used. From the time of the introduction of Buddhism, Japanese monks and nuns have worn the kesa over a garment somewhat similar in form to a kimono. Although the kesa has ceased to serve the purpose of protecting the body from the elements, for the members of the Buddhist monastic community, the robe still symbolizes poverty and humility and evokes an image of the Buddha clothed in rags.

Funzō-e: Robe of Rags

How did the Buddha and his followers obtain the cloth for these robes of rags? The Buddhist code of discipline stipulated that its members were to lead a humble, mendicant life. Monks and nuns were to beg for food and other necessities and were to live by means of goods that were cast off by other people. Although this humble creed is central to Buddhist teachings, it does not necessitate a life rigidly severe. From the beginning, there have been wealthy individuals who have supported the activities of the religious community. Therefore, in addition to using the wastes of worldly society, Buddhist monks and nuns could accept gifts—of food, cloth, or even money—from devout laypeople. In this way new cloth might be donated for making religious garments, or money might be contributed to purchase cloth in the marketplace. Even in the time of the Buddha himself, kings and other people of power and wealth embraced the religion and assisted the community in its religious endeavors. The elegant cloth donated by kings could be made useless for secular purposes by cutting it into pieces. These fragments could then be used in religious garments.

However, the highest form of Buddhist robe, the kesa of the greatest merit, was made from the lowliest materials. This type of kesa is called *funzō-e*, literally “excreta-sweeping robe.”¹⁵ The traditional method of gathering the cloth for making a *funzō-e* is described in a parable in the *Madhyamagama-sutra*.¹⁶ The story relates how a wise man who becomes angry at another’s impure thoughts or deeds should deal with this anger. The wise man, says the parable, should follow the example of the Buddhist hermit who is making a *funzō-e* for himself. This solitary monk wanders through fields and forests collecting cloth discarded by others. When he finds a piece of cloth that has been soiled by excreta, urine, mucus, or anything else impure, he picks up the cloth and tears off those parts that are unsoiled and least worn. These fragments are saved for the *funzō-e*. The impure scraps are cast away. The Buddha says that the wise man should tear off and eliminate his anger in a similar manner.

According to Buddhist literature, a *funzō-e* can be made from 10 different types of fabrics that have been put aside as useless by members of ordinary society.¹⁷ These various

fabrics are cloth that has been chewed by cows, gnawed by mice, charred by fire, soiled by menstrual blood or the blood of childbirth, discarded at a shrine or cemetery, used as a shroud, presented as an offering, or cast aside by kings and court officials. The parts of these fabrics that are still serviceable as cloth are torn off, washed clean, and sewn together to make a *funzō-e*. When such cloth is combined to create a *funzō-e*, in other words, when these worldly fragments are used for the furtherance of Buddhist teachings, then a textile that was once no more than a dirty rag becomes a wondrously pure garment and is transformed into the embodiment of the Buddha himself. The concept of transformation from filth into purity is also seen in the image of the lotus, a flower sacred to Buddhism. The lotus plant often grows in rank ponds and waterways, yet from this muddy and unclean environment emerges a flower of exquisite beauty. The lotus is seen as a symbol of the life of a follower who has found the Way of the Buddha.

The use of *funzō-e* by the Buddhist clergy has both philosophical and practical implications. Being dressed in patched robes is a constant reminder of the frugal Buddhist creed. For monks and nuns who wear *funzō-e*, however, it is not only important to robe the body in ragged garments, but the very act of gathering the soiled cloth needed to make the *funzō-e* is a reminder of one’s sordid existence. According to Buddhist thought, one must detach oneself from worldly concerns, an exercise that is accomplished through the denial of self. The process of collecting dirty rags can work to further the humbling of self that is central to all Buddhist teachings. In addition to these philosophical concerns the *funzō-e* also represents the essence of practicality. A religious order of mendicants survives by means of the good graces and material support of the surrounding society. In order to guarantee the success and continuation of such a religious community, excessive demands should not be placed upon its supporters. It thus becomes crucial to make good use of that which is available, especially those items deemed undesirable by society at large. *Funzō-e* present an excellent example of this type of intense frugality.

Funzō-e in Early Buddhist Japan

Prince Shōtoku’s Silk Funzō-e

The importation into Japan of Buddhist religion and philosophy in the sixth century A.D. brought with it the paraphernalia for monastic life and religious services.¹⁸ No doubt these goods for daily and ritual use included kesa, the distinctive dress of Buddha’s followers. One of the earliest surviving examples of kesa in Japan is a robe presumably worn by Prince Shōtoku (573–621).¹⁹ This early Buddhist kesa is of the *funzō-e* type, and was preserved as a treasure of

the Hōryū-ji temple in Nara. The complex of temple, monastery, and seminary at Hōryū-ji, the oldest existing temple in Japan, was founded in 607 by Prince Shōtoku, who ruled Japan as regent during the reign of his aunt, Empress Suiko. Recognized as a great scholar, soldier, and statesman, Prince Shōtoku is also considered the founding father of Buddhism in Japan. As a scholar of Buddhist philosophy, he wrote and lectured on Buddhist scriptures including the *Hokke* (Lotus) and the *Shōman*.²⁰ According to ancient accounts, Prince Shōtoku, while lecturing on the *Shōman*, is reputed to have worn the funzō-e just mentioned.²¹

Prince Shōtoku's funzō-e²² as it exists today is quite damaged. However, the fact that a fragile textile of this sort has survived in any form for nearly fourteen hundred years is an astonishing act of preservation. For centuries this kesa lay folded and stored inside an accompanying lacquer box (dating from the Heian period, 794–1185).²³ In 1876 the funzō-e, along with other treasures from the Hōryū-ji temple, was given to the Imperial Household, and these items are now carefully preserved in the Hōryū-ji Hōmotsukan, which is part of the Tokyo National Museum. The Hōmotsukan began to restore the textiles in its collection in the 1970s, and it was during this time that Shōtoku's funzō-e was taken out of the lacquer box, gently unfolded, and restored to the original rectangular shape of a kesa. Fig. 4 shows in outline form the shape and presumed arrangement of the remaining

fragments of the funzō-e (the vertical strips are recent additions indicating the placement of the lattice strips). Enough of the funzō-e still exists to allow one to visualize from these assorted fragments the appearance of the original robe of rags. As can be seen from Fig. 4 the funzō-e is a shichijō-gesa of seven panels. Each of the vertical panels appears to be one long length, rather than three separate patches as shown in Fig. 1. After these long vertical panels were joined together to form the rectangular shape of the kesa, separate lattice strips were added and the funzō-e was enclosed in a border.²⁴ These lattice strips and border have not survived.

Prince Shōtoku's funzō-e is probably the oldest extant example of funzō-e (Figs. 5 and 6). The robe is made from irregularly shaped pieces of finely woven silk that have been overlapped and layered in a textile collage. In some areas there are only two or three layers of cloth, in other places as many as seven layers. These assorted fragments of silk have been integrated both structurally and visually by row upon row of finely spaced vertical running stitch, minutely executed and covering the entire surface of the funzō-e. The colors are soft, subtle hues naturally dyed, and include chestnut brown, ocher, and dulled forest green. It should perhaps be noted here that according to the *Vinaya*, Buddhist robes are to be made from cloth of muddy colors;²⁵ the use of bright ostentatious fabrics is out of keeping with Buddhist concepts.²⁶ The subdued colors of Shōtoku's funzō-e are cer-

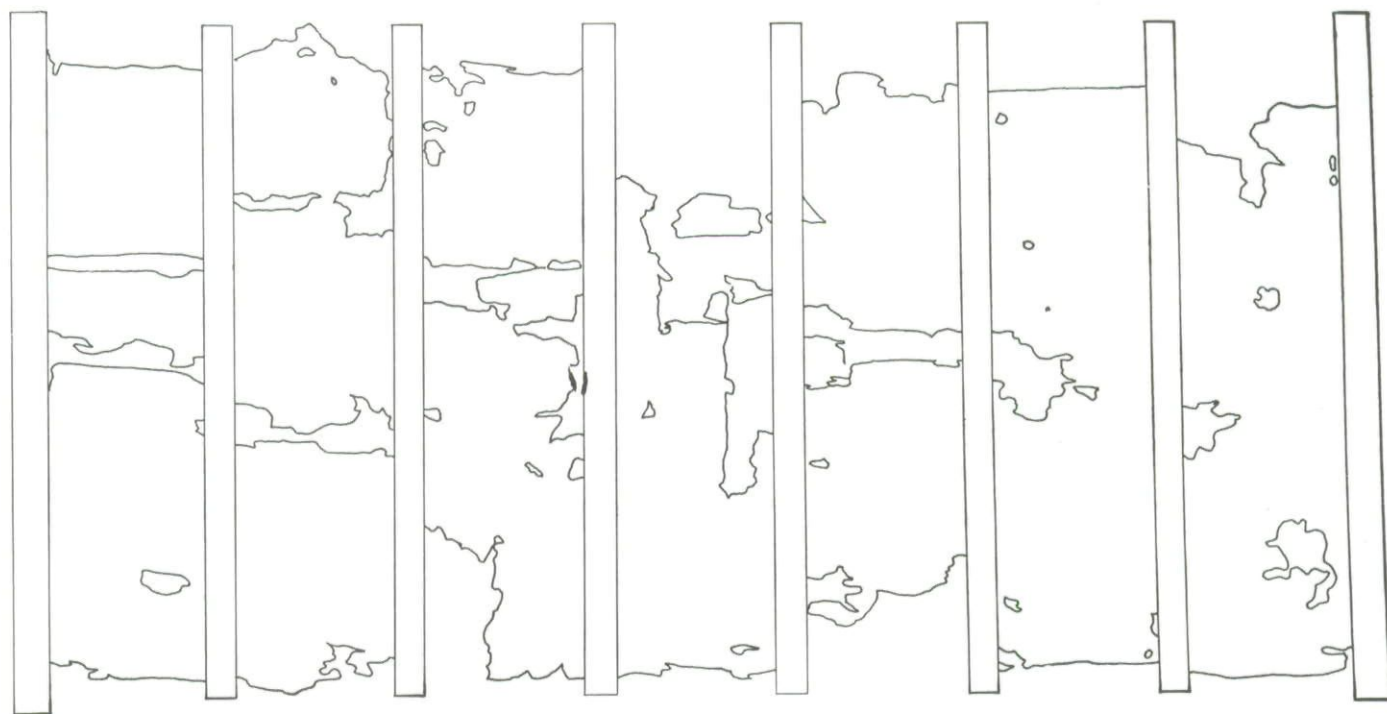


Fig. 4. Outline drawing of Prince Shōtoku's silk funzō-e, seventh century, approximately 48" × 106.5". All rights reserved, Tokyo National Museum.

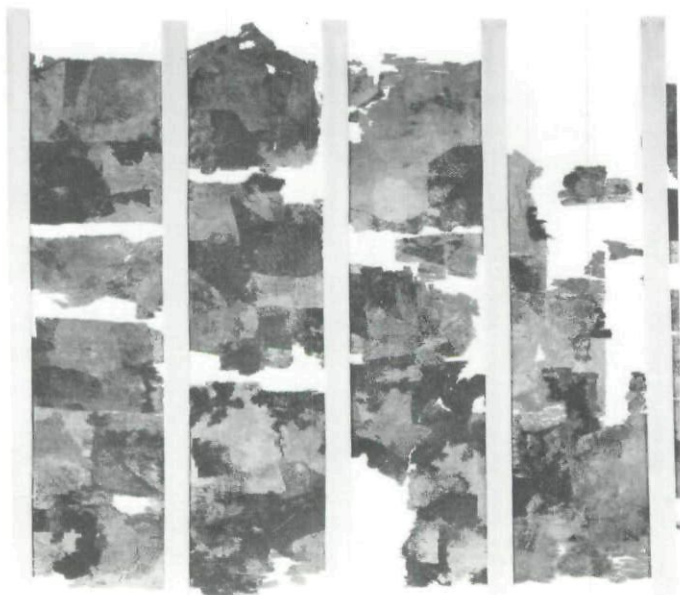


Fig. 5. Prince Shōtoku's silk funzō-e, left half, seventh century, approximately 48" × 61.5". All rights reserved, Tokyo National Museum.

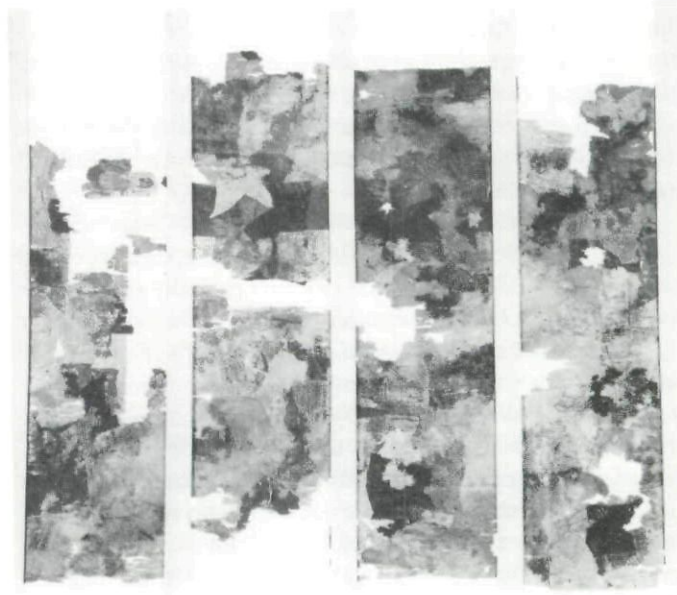


Fig. 6. Prince Shōtoku's silk funzō-e, right half, seventh century, approximately 48" × 61.5". All rights reserved, Tokyo National Museum.

tainly of this opaque type, but their very quietness enhances the refined beauty of the piece. Not only are the colors soft, but the shapes of the silk fragments exhibit a vagueness of form that is unusual in a pieced or appliquéd textile. The softness of form is achieved partly by the irregularity of the forms, but is mostly due to the wearing away of one layer of cloth to partially reveal the colors of the underlying silks. The resulting dim shapes call to mind the indistinctness of far-away mountains wreathed in ever-changing clouds, fogs, and mists. Thus, today this type of clerical robe is often referred to as *tōyama-gesa*, the kesa of Distant Mountains.

Were the silk fragments of Shōtoku's funzō-e true rags as described earlier in the 10 types of discarded cloth? "Silk rags," in Western vocabulary, seems almost a contradiction in terms, but even silk garments (which did exist in the court dress of this period) will bear the inevitable marks of human use through the passage of time.²⁷ Silk fragments from the worn and soiled clothing of ladies-in-waiting and courtiers, maids and grooms, may have been used to make Buddhist funzō-e. Moreover, if the shapes of the silk fragments in Shōtoku's funzō-e are carefully examined, it can be seen that the irregularity of the forms suggests a ragged origin. Such shapes were not achieved by tearing the cloth. (Torn cloth would tend to follow the warp and weft of the fabric; consequently, fragments that were torn would maintain the linear and squared nature of the original fabric.) The curvilinear shapes in the funzō-e, however, are those that could be achieved by cutting around areas of weak or unclean cloth.

Once the materials were gathered, the next step in the con-

struction of Shōtoku's funzō-e was to arrange the fabrics on a panel-sized piece of backing cloth. As already mentioned, each long vertical panel was made as a single unit rather than as three distinct patches. The irregular silk fragments would have been layered one on top of another, overlapping here and underlying there, onto the backing cloth. This intermeshing and building up of layers of thin silk produced a textile with increased durability from fragments that were originally quite frail. The raw edges of the silk fragments were not turned under, as is often done with appliquéd shapes. The small amount of fraying that resulted would lend a further suggestion of humble rags to the kesa. Structurally speaking, the raw edges tended to intermesh better, and the shapes as a whole were securely held in place by the minute stitching. After the shapes were arranged on the backing and before the intricate stitching was added, the layers of silk were probably basted together to make a stable textile on which to sew.²⁸ As a final step, the layered panel of silks would have been finely stitched together using a running or quilting stitch, the rows of quilting running parallel to the vertical axis of the long narrow panel.

Looking at the funzō-e today, one realizes that the artisans of early Japan were skilled needleworkers. The quilting has approximately 10 to 15 stitches per inch, and the rows of stitching are spaced at intervals of about 1/8 inch to 1/16 inch. This fine stitching melds together the assorted fragments into a dense, pliable textile with a softly rippled surface. The stitches are so finely spaced that the quilting thread serves almost as an element of reweaving. In certain areas of

the funzō-e the surface has the appearance of a twill weave (Fig. 7). These diagonal lines are due in part to the parallel rows of intricate stitching, which often follow an alternating stitch pattern. On a minute scale this pattern tends to reproduce a simple twill structure. The diagonal twill lines are enhanced by the textural rippling characteristic of quilted goods.²⁹

As stated, the suggestion of mist-shrouded distant mountains that has given this type of kesa its name is created by the wearing away of one layer of cloth to partially expose the colors beneath. If examined closely, the multicolored layers of silk look almost like tiny topographical maps of mountainous regions with the peaks revealed in one color and the gradations of slope recorded in varying shades (Fig. 7). These tiny worn and revealed areas create the softest shadings of color, lending an overall painterly effect, rather than the hard-edged shapes usually associated with appliquéd textile forms. How was this particular color effect, exquisite yet seemingly artless, achieved? One theory would be that it is the result of natural wear and tear over centuries of use. Normal wear in a kesa, as with any garment, tends to be focused in certain areas. In a kesa one such area is the upper part of the central panel, which falls on the right side and is subjected to the movement of the right arm. The left shoulder and arm are wrapped in the kesa, leaving the right arm freer for movement, which in turn increases the wear on the central panel. In Shōtoku's funzō-e, however, there is not an increased amount of wear in the central area. The wearing away of one color to reveal an underlying layer is fairly even across the entire surface of the robe. This is true also of other early funzō-e of this type. The theory of wear and tear over long centuries of time also seems to be disproved by the fact that as early as the eighth century, funzō-e were woven to imitate the worn look of stitched funzō-e.³⁰ If the sewn funzō-e when new did not exhibit a worn surface with soft gradations of color, how is it that the eighth-century weavers were able to produce such an accurate rendition of the subtle shadings typical of stitched funzō-e? Yet another theory is that after construction the surface of the funzō-e was rubbed in some manner in order to create the overall worn effect. This is probably a method used later in the Edo period (as will be discussed), but from what is known of life in early Buddhist Japan it seems unlikely that the needleworkers who made Shōtoku's funzō-e would have used this particular procedure.³¹ Clearly, it would appear that additional research is needed in this area.

Who were the individuals who fashioned Prince Shōtoku's Buddhist robe? Little is known about artisans in this early age of Japanese history, but one possibility is that the funzō-e was made by ladies skilled in needlework who resided at the Imperial Court.³² It is believed that another early Buddhist textile also associated with Prince Shōtoku—the embroidery

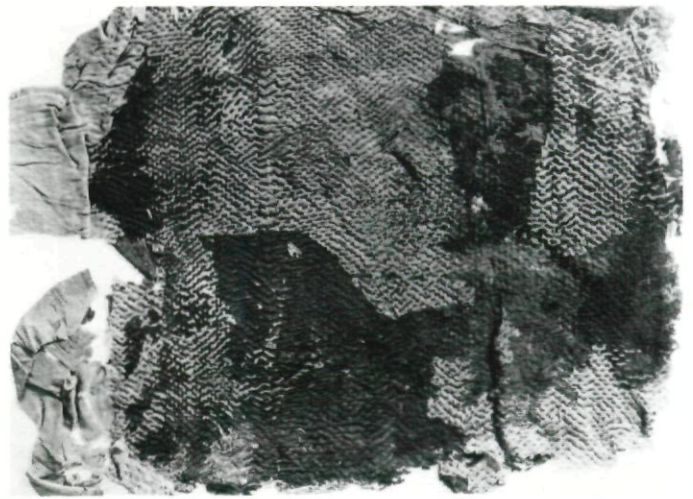


Fig. 7. Fragment from Prince Shōtoku's silk funzō-e, seventh century, approximately 10.5" × 13.5". All rights reserved, Tokyo National Museum

of Heavenly Paradise belonging to Chugu-ji temple in Nara—was created by court women.³³ In the case of Shōtoku's funzō-e, another theory is that the piece was brought into Japan from China or Korea along with the Buddhist philosophy that was being imported at that time. Stories allied with the funzō-e would seem to imply importation,³⁴ but these may be traditions attached to the piece in later generations for religious justification. Funzō-e from this early period do not exist in Korea or China today: therefore stylistic comparisons are not possible. Moreover, although Shōtoku's funzō-e was no doubt modeled after Chinese examples, it is generally believed to have been made in Japan. No matter what the provenance of Prince Shōtoku's funzō-e, the fact remains that the piece was treasured and preserved owing to both its religious associations and its aesthetic value, and that the soft beauty of the funzō-e influenced later generations of kesa makers.

Prince Shōtoku's Funzō-e of Asa

Preserved in the Hōryū-ji Hōmotsukan is also a shichijō-gesa made of *asa*, and like the silk funzō-e just described, it is believed to have been used by Prince Shōtoku. *Asa* is a Japanese term that can be used generically to describe bast-fiber fabrics. In the West, linen is the most common fabric made from bast fibers, those contained in the flax plant. In the East, however, hemp and ramie are commonly grown for their bast fiber, and in ancient times a wide variety of additional plants such as wisteria, mulberry, and daphne were utilized for their textile fibers. Asa cloth made from bast fibers was the fabric used for everyday wear, and commoners and peasants dressed solely in garments made of *asa*. Since *asa*

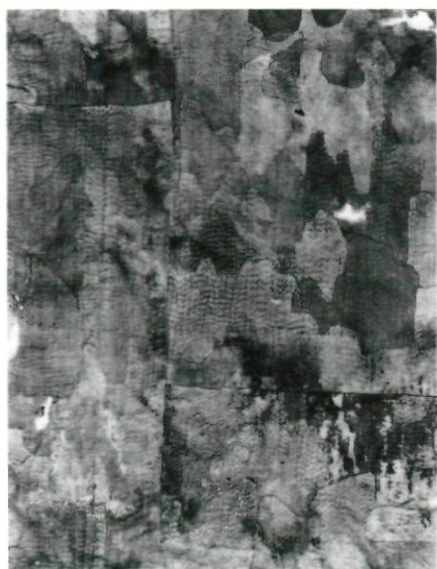


Fig. 8. Detail of Prince Shōtoku's asa funzō-e, seventh century, approximately 16" × 12". All rights reserved, Tokyo National Museum.

was the ordinary, humble cloth of early Japan, it seems particularly appropriate that a funzō-e in Prince Shōtoku's day was made of a collection of such fabrics.

The construction of this asa funzō-e (Fig. 8) differs somewhat from that of Shōtoku's silk funzō-e. First of all, the layering of the fabrics is different. The asa fabrics have been placed so that the number of layers is fairly consistent across the entire surface, rather than being scattered randomly in irregular layers as were the silk fragments. The even layering is achieved by arranging the fragments in a manner similar to shingles on a roof. The asa fragments have been sewn over with many rows of vertical stitching, but the rippling effect and wearing away of upper layers seen in the silk funzō-e has not occurred here. This is largely because of the choice of fabrics, silks being more supple than the crisp and sometimes coarse fibers of asa. Each vertical panel of the asa funzō-e has been made of three individual patches, two long and one short. These patches and the subsequent panels have been joined together by means of overlapping seams (as in Fig. 1), and thus this funzō-e does not have lattice strips. The use of methods and materials in the asa funzō-e that differ from those used in the silk Shōtoku funzō-e means that the overall appearance of the two kesa is also different. The shapes seen in the asa funzō-e do not have the soft, smudged quality of the silk kesa. However, the shingled layering of asa cloth with its repetitious curvilinear outline creates a watery, or *moiré*, pattern that is no less exquisite or subtle in effect.

Asa Funzō-e of Enryaku-ji

Enryaku-ji temple was established in A.D. 788 by Priest Saichō,

the Japanese founder of the Tendai sect of Buddhism. The temple compound sits atop Mt. Hiei in the northeast corner of Kyoto, and was founded in part to protect the new capital from devils and demons, because it was believed that such creatures of ill will could enter the city only from a northeasterly direction. Preserved in this mountain enclave and only recently rediscovered in 1963 is a funzō-e made of asa and believed to have been imported from China by Priest Saichō.³⁵

Saichō traveled to Tang China in 804 to further his Buddhist studies, and returned to Japan in the following year, presumably carrying with him this asa funzō-e of Chinese origin. That the provenance of this robe is undisputed enables one to compare the Chinese funzō-e of Enryaku-ji with the presumably Japanese silk and asa funzō-e associated with Prince Shōtoku. The funzō-e that Saichō brought to Japan already had a history attached to it. Saichō received the robe from his teacher, Hsing-man of To-lung Monastery, on Mt. T'ien-t'ai, and Hsing-man had, in turn, been given the funzō-e by his teacher, Miao-lo (711–782), the sixth patriarch of Tendai Buddhism in China.³⁶ The process of handing down a religious robe from teacher to disciple was a ritual that symbolized the transmission and continuation of Buddhist teachings. The teacher, through long instruction, would reveal to his student the Buddhist "seal of truth." To the one disciple who was most deserving, he would pass on the *dempō-e*, or clothes that transmit the teachings of Buddhism. It is interesting that this concept of *dempō-e* is evident as early as Saichō's day, because it later becomes an essential element in the Zen sect, particularly in Sōtō Zen.

The Enryaku-ji kesa (Fig. 9) presents yet a third variation on the robe of rags theme, and its method of construction differs in some respects from the two funzō-e previously described. The Enryaku-ji funzō-e has in common with those of Prince Shōtoku the fact that cloth has been layered onto a background fabric and the whole joined together by dense rows of vertical stitching. However, it seems that in the Enryaku-ji piece the layered cloth was already in a fairly deteriorated state when it was used in the funzō-e. Apparently the tattered and shredded cloth was not so much layered as patted onto the backing surface to make a continuous ragged batt. In many areas the fabric has disintegrated into its fiber strands.³⁷ Since the fiber strands are secured and held in place by the stitching, it is assumed that the batt of fabric and fiber strands was first laid down and then stitched over rather than that the deterioration occurred after construction as the result of natural wear. As stated earlier in reference to the silk funzō-e of Prince Shōtoku, natural wear tends to be concentrated in certain specific areas. Indeed, in the Enryaku-ji funzō-e an area of natural wear can be observed in the central part of the robe, where the ragged batt of fiber strands and bits of cloth has been worn away, leaving the stitching threads

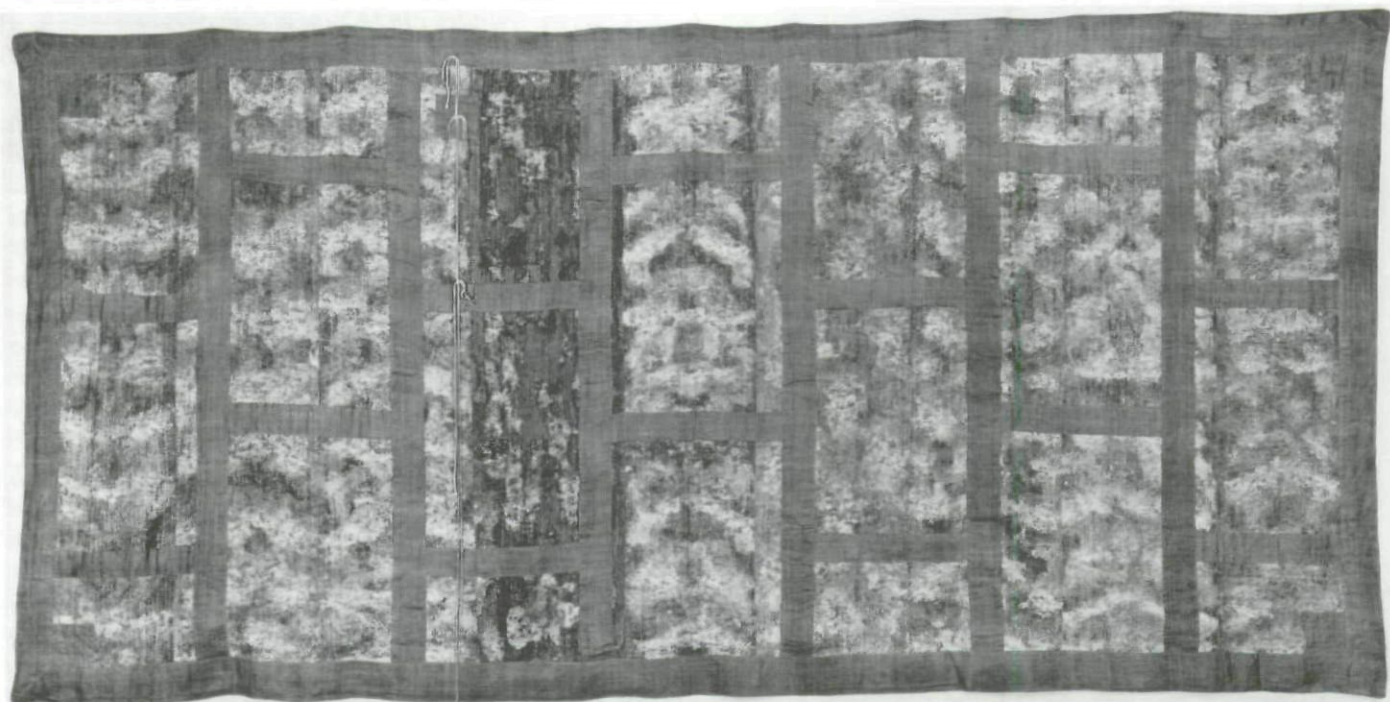


Fig. 9. Asa funzō-e of Enryaku-ji, eighth century, 52" × 102". All rights reserved, Enryaku-ji temple and Kyoto National Museum.

and the background fabric exposed. Unlike the fragments of whole cloth used in the funzō-e of Prince Shōtoku, the deteriorated fabrics of the Enryaku-ji funzō-e were quite fragile, and thus the robe was susceptible to wear from the moment of its creation.

An overall view of the Enryaku-ji funzō-e reveals an artful and refined arrangement of pattern and color. In each panel the fabrics and fibers have been dyed in soft shades of blue, cream, and brown. The brown backing fabric has been allowed to show through in certain areas as an additional color element, and the whole has been stitched over with blue thread. The soft colors have been arranged in a consistent and almost repetitious pattern. This pattern combines the smudged, painterly quality seen in Prince Shōtoku's silk funzō-e with the moiré appearance found in the prince's asa funzō-e. As the Enryaku-ji funzō-e exists today, this flowing pattern is contained within the linear format of horizontal and vertical lattice strips, made of an umber-colored asa. Upon close examination, the robe can be seen to comprise nine vertical panels over which has been superimposed an arrangement of seven vertical divisions created by the lattice strips. The original nine panels were joined by an overlapping seam construction (see Fig. 1), which seems to suggest that the funzō-e in its original form did not have lattice strips. In this respect the Enryaku-ji funzō-e is similar to the asa funzō-e of Prince Shōtoku. At some point in its history, the Enryaku-ji robe was transformed by the addition of the lattice

strips from a kujō-gesa to a shichijō-gesa. When this change took place, and for what reason, is not known. The lattice strips were attached to the funzō-e by a special sewing technique that is used in certain types of Buddhist kesa. One edge of the lattice strip was joined firmly to the body of the kesa, while the opposite edge was left unstitched at intervals. These open seams are another reference to the ragged garments of the Buddha. The asa funzō-e of Enryaku-ji and Prince Shōtoku's silk funzō-e present two technical interpretations of the concept of the robe of rags, one through the use of deteriorated fabrics and unsewn seams, and the other through the wearing away of surface silks to reveal underlying fabrics. In each of these robes the element of wear was conceived as an intrinsic part of the garment.

Treasures of the Shōsō-in: Stitched Funzō-e

In the capital city of Nara in AD. 756 on the 21st day of the sixth month, the newly widowed Empress Kōmyō made a special dedication to the Great Buddha of Tōdai-ji temple. The empress presented a collection of over six hundred objects that were the property of her late husband, the Emperor Shōmu. Identified in the record of dedication as "rare treasures of the nation," these special objects were housed along with other temple treasures in a repository known as the Shōsō-in, on the grounds of Tōdai-ji. The

building and the bulk of its contents have miraculously survived for more than twelve hundred years to the present.³⁸

Two kesa of the funzō-e type were among the items dedicated by Empress Kōmyō. One funzō-e was made using an appliquéd and stitched method of construction, and the other was woven in a special tapestry technique. In the Kemmotsuchō, or record of dedication, the stitched funzō-e is described as a *shinō-gesa*.³⁹ The term *shinō* is composed of

two Chinese characters, the first meaning “sew” or “stitch” and the second being an archaic ideogram for “dedicate” or “consecrate.” Thus, it can be seen that *shinō* refers to both the sewing technique and the religious concepts inherent in funzō-e. The Shōsō-in funzō-e shows marked similarities to Prince Shōtoku’s silk funzō-e. Both are identical in materials and general method of construction, and both are shichijō-gesa. The funzō-e of the Shōsō-in (Fig. 10) is made of numerous layers of thin, plain-weave silk in soft, naturally dyed shades of brown, green, and ocher. It is intricately stitched in purple thread, and the surface exhibits the same singular worn quality as seen in Prince Shōtoku’s funzō-e.⁴⁰

These two stitched funzō-e differ slightly with respect to the construction of the panels and the patterning of the design. In the Shōsō-in funzō-e each panel is constructed of three separate patches, two long and one short (Fig. 11; compare Fig. 1), rather than the single long patch seen in Prince Shōtoku’s funzō-e. More importantly, the Shōsō-in funzō-e has neither horizontal nor vertical lattice strips, which might indicate that the Shōtoku funzō-e was originally fashioned in the same manner. The most noticeable difference between the two funzō-e is in the overall pattern



Fig. 10. Detail of Shōsō-in stitched funzō-e, eighth century, approximately 11" × 16". All rights reserved, Gafū Izutsu, Kesashi.

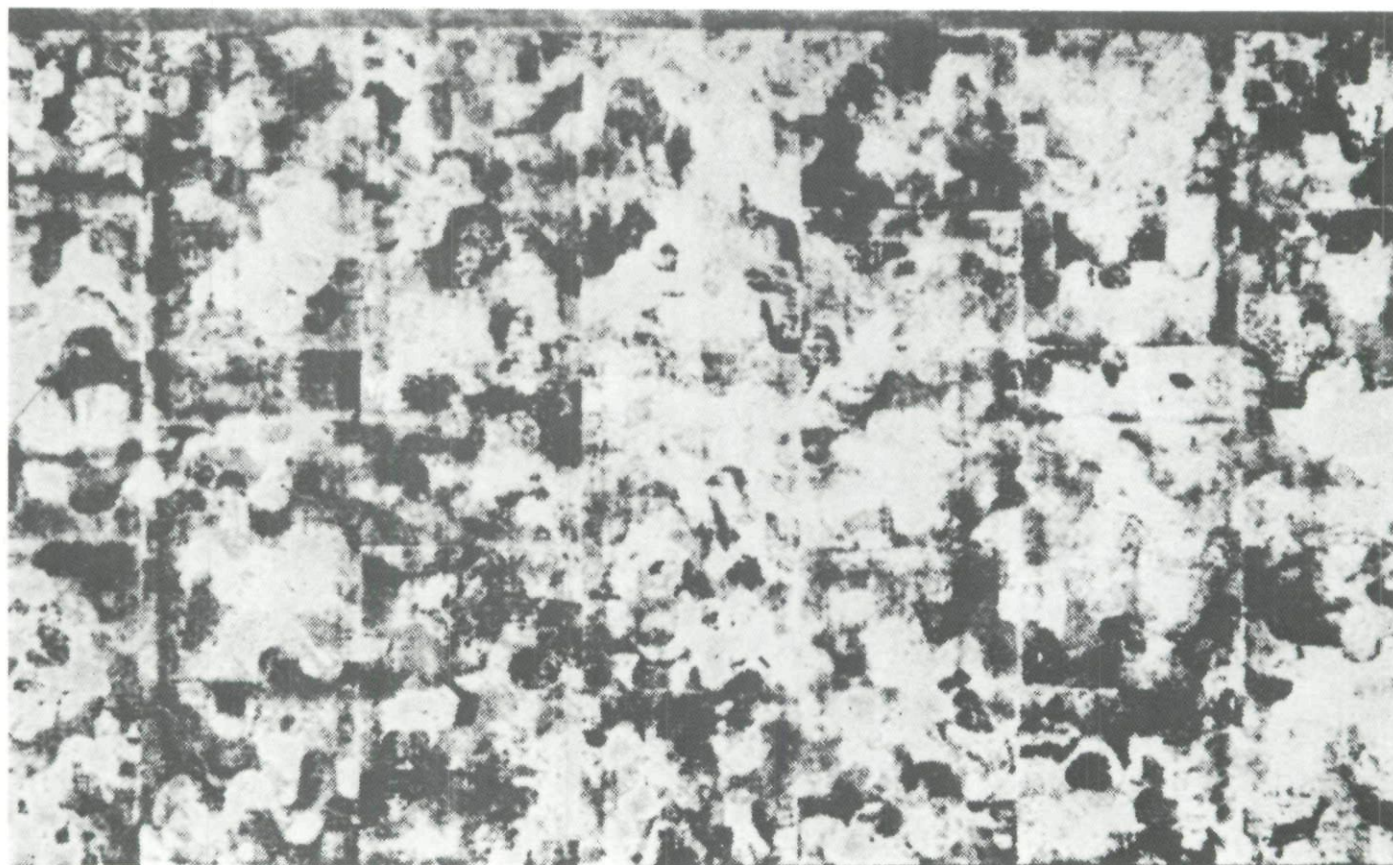


Fig. 11. Shōsō-in stitched funzō-e, eighth century, approximately 55" × 95". All rights reserved, Gafū Izutsu, Kesashi.

created by the shape and arrangement of the silk fragments. The Shōsō-in funzō-e displays a marked repetition of similar forms; wave-shaped fragments appear again and again in both positive and negative configurations across the surface of the piece. These curved fragments may have been scraps left over from garment making.⁴¹ During this period court clothes were modeled after the fashions of T'ang China, and certain garments were cut to accommodate the shape of the human body. Whatever the origin of the softly undulating forms seen in the Shōsō-in funzō-e, they contrast with the irregular and somewhat jagged fragments used in the funzō-e of Prince Shōtoku, and the subtle echoing of repeated shapes over the face of the Shōsō-in garment may indicate a more evolved design style.

Treasures of the Shōsō-in: Tapestry Funzō-e

In addition to the funzō-e just described, Tōdai-ji's record of dedication also lists an eighth-century *shokusei-gesa* of seven panels. *Shokusei* is an ancient term denoting a special weaving technique in which discontinuous tapestry wefts alternate with weft threads that pass all the way from selvedge to selvedge.⁴² Thus, the tapestry sections are strengthened and in a sense joined by the alternating continuous weft. The technique also produces a unique color effect. The tapestry funzō-e of the Shōsō-in is woven in soft, naturally dyed shades of red, brown, green, blue, and ocher silk. The continuous weft is a pale water-green color, the warp a rich tea-colored brown, and both of these elements are visible in the finished piece (Fig. 12).⁴³ The resultant subtle mixing of

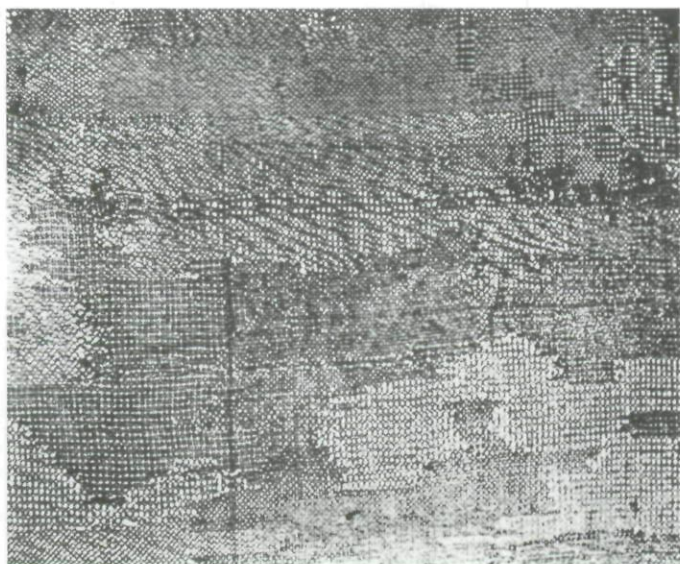


Fig. 12. Detail of Shōsō-in tapestry funzō-e, eighth century, approximately 6.5" × 8.5". All rights reserved, Gafu Izutsu, Kesashi.

colors creates a visual impression similar to the soft shadings characteristic of silk funzō-e of the stitched type. The multi-colored weave recalls the worn and layered silks, and the irregular outline of the tapestry pattern is reminiscent of the fragments of cloth in a Buddhist robe of rags. It is particularly interesting to find in this early tapestry funzō-e an example of a woven textile imitating with great skill a sewn and constructed textile form.

The Tapestry Funzō-e of Tō-ji

Among the mandala paintings, calligraphed sutras, and ritual objects preserved as treasures of Tō-ji temple in Kyoto, there is also a Buddhist priest's robe known as the *kendakokushi-gesa*. This kesa was reputedly brought back from T'ang China in 806 by Kōbō Daishi, the founder of the Shingon sect in Japan. Kōbō Daishi was given the *kendakokushi-gesa* by his Chinese teacher, Priest Hui-kuo, who also transmitted to him the Esoteric Buddhist teachings.⁴⁴ The meaning of the name given this kesa has been variously interpreted, and the classical Japanese is difficult to construe.⁴⁵ It might therefore be best to consider the name as only a poetic title. The Tō-ji priest's robe itself is another example of a silk tapestry funzō-e (Fig. 13). However, in this case the piece has been woven in true tapestry technique without the introduction of a continuous weft. The woven design of this shichijō-gesa simulates the ragged contours of discarded cloth, and because the tapestry is formed all of a piece, the ragged design is more complex than is usually found in the layered and stitched funzō-e. The intricacy of such a curvilinear composition must have made weaving difficult, but the Tō-ji funzō-e has been expertly constructed. However, the piece lacks the subdued yet rich color treatment found in the Shōsō-in funzō-e. The shokusei technique of the latter produced a subtle mix of colors that imitated the delicate interplay of shaded silks layered and stitched together. The tapestry technique used in the Tō-ji funzō-e produces a fabric with a crisp color design and few intricate shadings of hue. It is interesting to note that the tapestry is woven to imitate not only the ragged cloth fragments but also the rows of running stitch characteristic of stitched funzō-e (Fig. 15). In the Tō-ji funzō-e, however, the rows of "stitching" run horizontally, contrary to all other extant funzō-e examples. Indeed, it would have been extremely difficult for the weaver to reproduce vertical stitching lines, because in true tapestry technique the vertical warp threads are completely covered by the weft. The Tō-ji tapestry funzō-e represents an example of a funzō-e form that has diverged from the original Buddhist idea of a robe of rags. The piece has acquired a certain formalized quality, both in design and technique, and thus can be seen as a stylization of the concept of funzō-e.

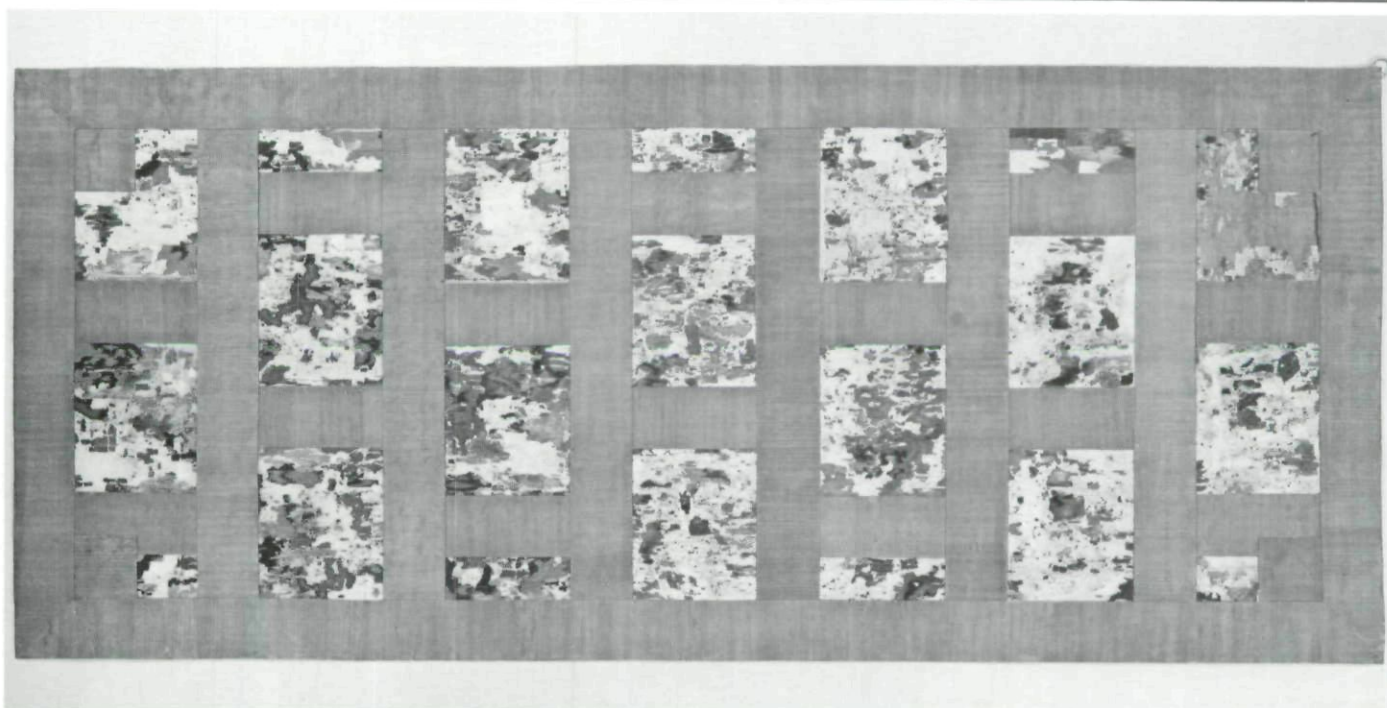


Fig. 13. Tapestry funzō-e of Tō-ji, ninth century, 45.5" × 93.5". All rights reserved, Tō-ji temple and Kyoto National Museum.

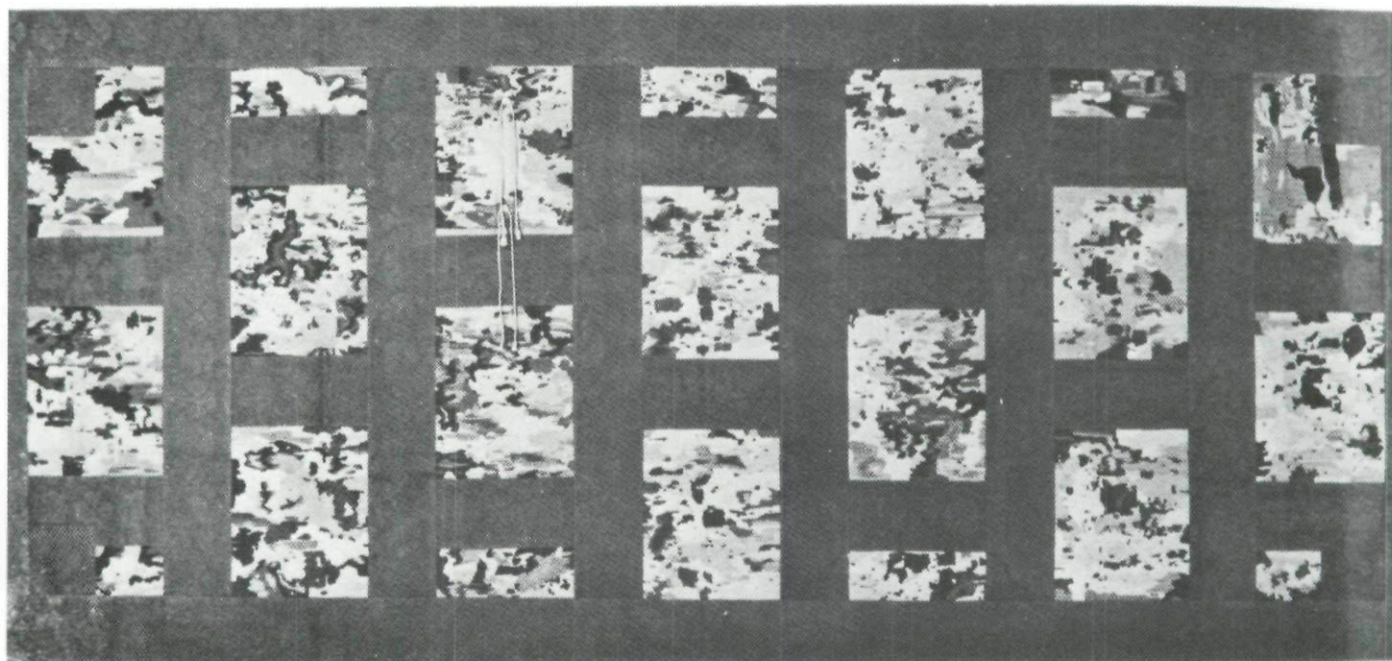


Fig. 14. Modern reproduction of the tapestry funzō-e of Tō-ji, 20th century, 45.5" × 93.5". All rights reserved, Gafū Izutsu, Hōeshi.

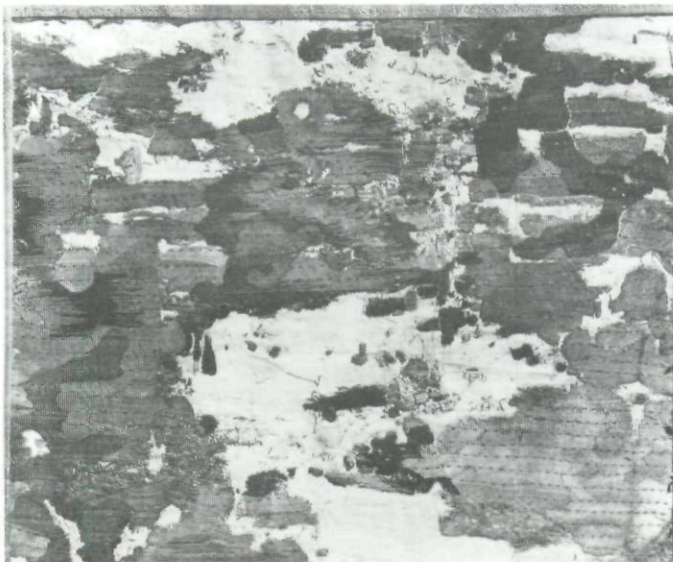


Fig. 15. Detail of Fig. 13, tapestry funzō-e of Tō-ji, ninth century, approximately 8" × 10". All rights reserved, Tō-ji temple and Kyoto National Museum.

Origin of Funzō-e Design

The preceding discussion of extant kesa from early Buddhist Japan has presented a variety of funzō-e types differing in methods of construction, materials, and design. What served as the visual inspiration for these designs? As noted earlier, the general layout of the kesa was inspired by the arrangement of rice paddies and levees. In the case of the funzō-e, however, no documents remain that record its visual source, and the prototype robe of rags has long been lost. The term "distant mountains" has been used to describe funzō-e, but this is probably a reading of the finished object, rather than the actual source of inspiration. During the eighth century when vibrant examples of funzō-e were being produced, the robes were described as resembling tree bark. The term used in the Kemmotsuchō (record of dedication) of the Shōsō-in is *jubishoku*, often translated as "tree-bark color," but a more accurate translation might be "tree bark look." If the typical funzō-e design is compared with *Platanus acerifolia*, the tree in Fig. 16, the similarities are striking. It is not believed that this particular tree existed in early Japan, but perhaps a similar type served as an original model in either China or Korea. Japanese artisans certainly had numerous sources of inspiration for funzō-e in nature. The mottled hills of autumn, the pattern of decayed leaves and grasses in winter, spring flowers scattered on a cloud-streaked pond, the cool rush of a pebbled brook in summer—these and other images could have lent their visual impressions to the processes of stitching and weaving. Eventually funzō-e were modeled after earlier examples of funzō-e, and with this transition came a certain tightening of style and codification of design.



Fig. 16. *Platanus acerifolia*. Photo by Ron Granich.

Funzō-e in Medieval Japan

Unfortunately, no funzō-e have survived from the turbulent medieval period (13th–16th centuries) of Japanese history. However, there is other evidence that such Buddhist robes did exist. Priests wearing funzō-e are frequently depicted in the paintings of this period, and written documents refer to funzō-e. Collectively, this evidence would seem to indicate that funzō-e not only existed but that the form was prevalent. No doubt this was largely because of the resurgence of interest in Buddhism that marked the period. The era was plagued by civil strife and natural disaster, and the belief was widespread that it was the age of "the close of the Law," or *mappō*, which indicated the end of the world. Such times were ripe for religious fervency. New forms of Buddhism were introduced after renewed contact with China, and for the first time new sects of Buddhism were established that originated in Japan.

Dōgen (1200–1253) was the founder of the Sōtō Zen sect in Japan, and it is in his writings that numerous references to funzō-e can be found. A great thinker and philosopher as well as a religious leader, Dōgen wrote extensively about Buddhism and the religious experience.⁴⁶ His master work, the *Shōbōgenzō*, devotes two chapters to the kesa, including that special type of kesa, the funzō-e. Dōgen describes the

funzō-e as follows: "According to the traditional teachings of the Buddhas a kesa made of discarded cloth, that is, a funzō-e, is the best."⁴⁷ He also says, "When a kesa made of such [discarded] cloth is worn, do not foolishly think it is simply a garment of rags. It is a splendid adornment of the Buddhist Way."⁴⁸ Dōgen instructs his followers to consider carefully the concept of funzō-e. To substantiate his argument concerning the importance of the garment, he refers to a story from the Buddhist scriptures: "We should deeply reflect on the meaning of a funzō-e. In the past when the Sramanera Jana washed his funzō-e in Anavatapta Pond, the Dragon King rained precious flowers on it in admiration and respect."⁴⁹

Paintings and shrines from the medieval period show that the funzō-e form continued to influence thought on Buddhist vestiture. Examples of paintings illustrating Buddhist clergy wearing funzō-e include, first of all, a mandala of the Hossō sect dating from the 13th century.⁵⁰ Seated around the Buddha are the patriarchs of the sect, each dressed distinctly, with several of the priests wearing the funzō-e. This type of mandala painting continues into the 16th century.⁵¹ As another example, a 13th-century miniature shrine housing a statue of the Future Buddha (Maitreya) is constructed with panels surrounding the statue, on which are portrayed Buddhist historical figures.⁵² A variety of priestly dress can be observed, and many clergy are garbed in funzō-e. In another shrine from the 15th century funzō-e robes are so clearly depicted that it is possible to see the lines of stitching over the fragments of discarded cloth.⁵³ An example of an individual portrait is that of Priest Gyōki (14th century), showing the Buddhist leader holding a priest's scepter and rosary and dressed in a funzō-e, the soft pattern of the patches contained by the bold lines of the lattice strips.⁵⁴

Modern Funzō-e

The modern period of Japanese history is generally considered to begin in the early 17th century with the centralization of government that took place under the rule of the Tokugawa Shogunate. Fortunately, there are extant funzō-e that date from this era, known as the Edo period (1615–1868). The tapestry funzō-e of Tō-ji temple, the latest surviving example prior to the Edo period, dates from the early ninth century. Thus, after a period of eight hundred years the physical form of the robe of rags reemerges. Whereas in the medieval period it is possible to attribute the prevalence of funzō-e depiction to the resurgence of Buddhism, the fact that funzō-e exist from the Edo period can probably be attributed to the renewed interest in ancient Japanese history, literature, and religion that typified this era.⁵⁵ Indeed by studying Edo funzō-e it can be seen that their source of inspiration is most likely

the muted and complex style of ancient funzō-e, such as those of Hōryū-ji and the Shōsō-in, rather than the later, codified style of such pieces as the Tō-ji tapestry robe.

A beautiful example of Edo funzō-e is a tree-bark-patterned piece (Fig. 17), whose random design harkens back to the stitched funzō-e of Hōryū-ji and the Shōsō-in. However, the construction differs somewhat in that this Edo piece does not have the contiguous layering of numerous fragments of silk cloth, which is typical of early funzō-e. Instead the later piece uses the irregularly shaped fragments as design elements only. These are clustered in multicolored groupings that float on a background of soft, fawn-colored silk. The prominence of this background color in the overall design is in contrast to early funzō-e, in which the background cloth is rarely visible. The inconsistent layering of the Edo funzō-e produces a fabric that in total surface area is approximately half



Fig. 17. Tree-bark-patterned funzō-e, Edo period, 18" × 12". Private collection. Photo by Ron Granich.

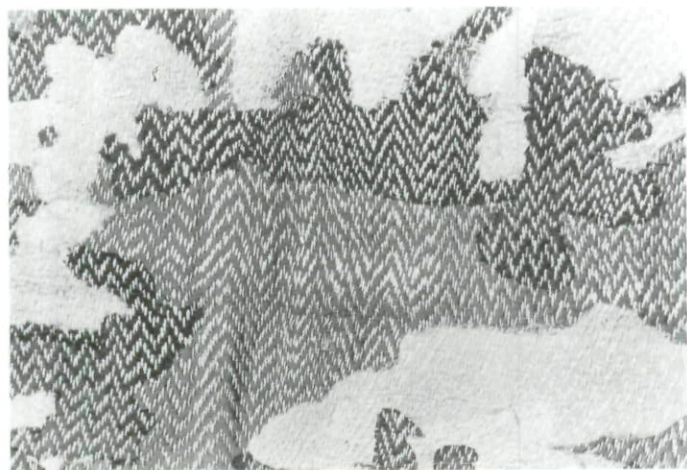


Fig. 18. Detail of Fig. 17, Edo period, 6.5" × 9". Private collection. Photo by Ron Granich.

multilayered and half a single sheet of cloth (the background fabric). A stitched fabric of such construction will generally not exhibit the textural rippling characteristic of quilted goods, since the rippling is caused in part by the shifting of multiple layers. However, the Edo funzō-e compensates for this lack of texture by being stitched in an elaborate twill pattern (Fig. 18). As noted previously, the dense stitching of early funzō-e often produced a twill-like effect at certain points in the design. It is interesting to find that appearance imitated in this Edo funzō-e. The hand-sewn twill pattern in the Edo funzō-e has a certain irregularity, unlike the crisp diagonal pattern of a loom-woven twill. This irregularity of stitching is further accentuated by the unevenness of the hand-spun silk thread. The combination produces a shimmering surface that enhances the underlying design of funzō-e fragments.

As discussed earlier, funzō-e have frequently been described as *tōyama-gesa*, or the kesa of Distant Mountains, owing to the indistinct, rounded forms peculiar to the early robes. The term is a poetical interpretation of an abstract pattern. However, the Edo period produced funzō-e that exhibited a literal translation with a distinct pattern of clouds and mountains. One such piece is the funzō-e owned by Kōki-ji temple in Osaka Prefecture (Fig. 19). This kujō-gesa is richly colored, with the lattice strips of bright gold silk contrasting with the deep blue, purple, and brown of the funzō-e panels. The stitching on the robe is intricate and finely spaced, and the surface has the characteristically rippled texture of a quilted fabric. The mountain and cloud shapes in this piece show a dimness of form similar to that found in early funzō-e. Unlike the older robes, the Kōki-ji funzō-e, however, was not constructed of numerous layers of silk fragments; rather, segregated design shapes were arranged upon a background. In order to produce an appearance similar to the early funzō-e, the design shapes in the Kōki-ji piece were ap-

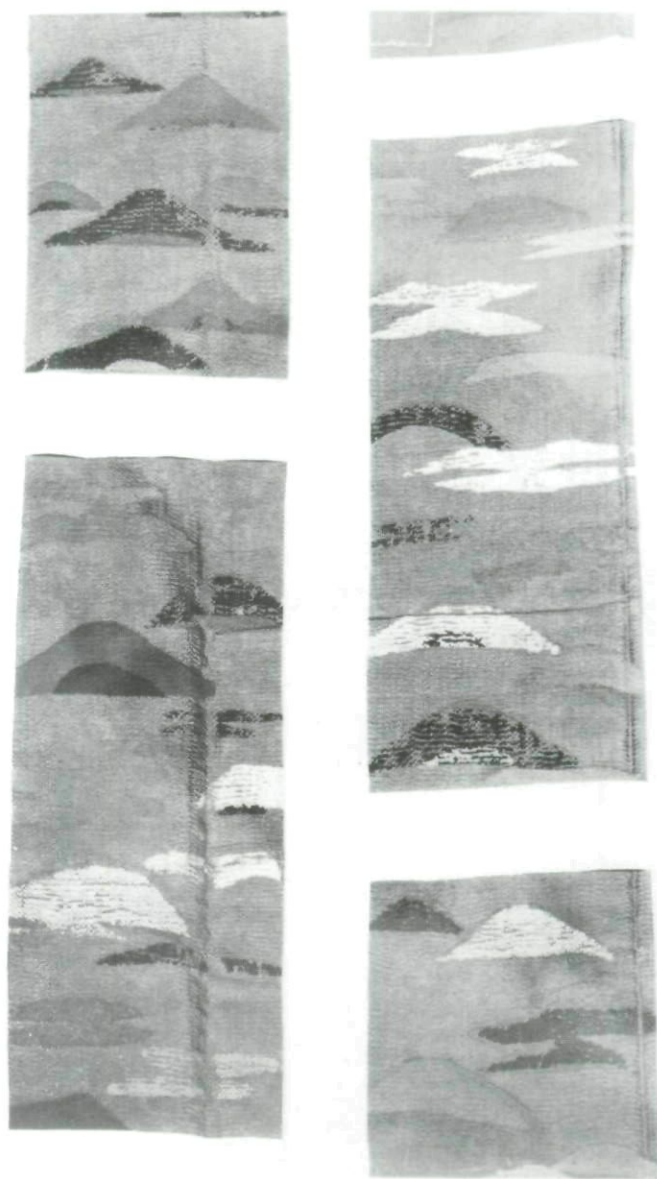


Fig. 19. Funzō-e of Kōki-ji, Edo period, approximately 32" × 20". Courtesy, Kōki-ji temple and Keichū Kyūma.

parently pasted to the background silk, the fabric stitched, and then the shapes rubbed to create the worn surface. Certain mountain and cloud forms were rubbed until most of the fabric was worn away, but it is still possible to see a faint "shadow" where the original shape was pasted down.

Another pictorial funzō-e is a fragment in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Fig. 20). In this example the *tōyama* mountains have not been used, only stylized clouds. One cloud form in dark blue silk has been partially rubbed away so that the appearance is similar to certain areas in the Kōki-ji funzō-e. In contrast to the latter, the Metropolitan funzō-e does not have a rippled texture, and



Fig. 20. Funzō-e fragment, Edo period, 10.5" × 11.5". Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1944. All rights reserved, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

the quilting thread is fairly large in scale. This fragment made of delicate silks may have been intended as a part of a funzō-e panel, that is, the small patch in the panel arrangement of two long patches and one short patch (see Fig. 1). The characters written on the left margin may indicate that this piece was the bottom patch in the sixth panel, presumably in a kujō-gesa.

Although the three foregoing examples all date from the Edo period, the use of tōyama-gesa has continued to the present (Fig. 21). In the Sōtō Zen sect monks and nuns, as well as devout laypeople, continue to make their own funzō-e. The process of construction is considered a devotional act, a view that is supported by the writings of Dōgen. Tōyama-gesa are also worn by the clergy of other Buddhist sects. Generally such kesa are reserved for the higher clerical ranks, which indicates the esteem with which tōyama-gesa are regarded. Whether the priests wearing tōyama-gesa, or for that matter the families who make such kesa in a cottage industry, are aware of the ancient antecedents of this Buddhist robe is another question. The Distant Mountain kesa currently being produced invariably exhibit a pictorial pattern of easily discernible mountains. In addition to this codification of design, modern robes often use techniques not found in the early funzō-e. The twill-patterned stitching and the pasted and rubbed appliqué of the Edo pieces just discussed illustrate this use, as well as contemporary jacquard-woven robes with imitation quilting. These examples exist as modern adaptations of the ancient form.



Fig. 21. Priest Keichū Kyūma of the Sōtō Zen sect dressed in a tōyama-gesa. Courtesy, Keichū Kyūma.

Conclusion

Religious garments are clothes of identification, both in a personal sense and in the societal context. The daily donning of sectarian robes is a reaffirmation of the wearer's religious vows and a renewal of membership in a community of believers. A recognizable uniform that is also a visual testament, a religious garment generally indicates the profession rather than the individual. The Japanese folk saying that runs, "If you hate a monk, even his robe is a detestable thing,"⁵⁶ suggests that this religious uniform can also take on the identity of the wearer. It is, however, the exception rather than the rule that proves the point of this proverb. In studying Buddhist clerical robes, both past and present, it is important to keep in mind the religious desire for personal symbolism, as well as the need for external display of office. It is this inter-

play of requirements, sometimes compatible, sometimes at odds, that has created the wide range of Buddhist clerical robes, including funzō-e, that have been used throughout the history of Buddhism in Japan.

The funzō-e from its earliest beginnings in ancient India has been a Buddhist badge of identity. None of these distinctive garments has survived from the first millennium of Buddhist history, but miraculously in Japan, a land far removed from the birthplace of Buddhism, several funzō-e dating from the seventh century to the early ninth century have been preserved. These robes, or at least their venerated reputations, have inspired centuries of artisans, workers of both cloth and paint. In present-day Japan it is possible to see priests dressed in new tōyama-gesa in the temples of Kyoto, or to view in a remote country temple funzō-e stitched within the last year. Today artisans who produce funzō-e and tōyama-gesa create pieces that often appear to be simplifications of earlier robes. Although many modern funzō-e can be called rough sketches, they are perceptions of a view that has remained unobscured, though centuries have passed. The Distant Mountains shimmer from afar, and travelers still make the pilgrimage to discern the ancient source. The concept of the Buddha's robe of rags lives on in modern Japan.

Acknowledgments

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Notes

1. Keichū Kyūma, *Kesa no Kenkyū* (Tokyo: Daihōrin Kakuhan, 1967), p. 20.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 18–19.

3. E. Dale Saunders, *Mudra: A Study of Symbolic Gestures in Japanese Buddhist Sculpture* (New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1960), p. 245; also T. O. Ling, *A Dictionary of Buddhism* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972), p. 226.

4. This is the Japanese term; in Sanskrit it is *ti-civara*.

5. These Sanskrit terms are used here for purposes of clarity. (There are a number of different transliterations from the Sanskrit, but the author has employed those terms used most consistently.) In Chinese and Japanese there are phonetic equivalents composed of characters of similar sound, but with meanings that may differ from the original Sanskrit.

6. Actually the sanghāti can be made with either 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 19, 21, 23, or 25 vertical panels. It is sometimes referred to as the *dai-e*, "large clothes."

7. Gafū Izutsu, conversation with author, Apr. 7, 1981.

8. The Four Heavenly Kings are Bishamon (Sanskrit: Vaisravana) in the North, Zōchō (Skt.: Virūpākṣa) in the South, Jikoku (Skt.: Dhṛtarāstra) in the East, and Kōmoku (Skt.: Virūdhaka) in the West. The reference to the corner patches as Shitenno (Skt.: Catvāro maha-rājikāḥ) depends upon the sect of Buddhism. Tendai and Shingon refer to them as such, but in Sōtō Zen they are called simply kakuchō, "corner layer."

9. Gafū Izutsu, conversation with author, Apr. 7, 1981; also Helen C. Gunsaulus, *Japanese Textiles* (New York: Japan Society of New York, 1941), p. 75.

10. Gafū Izutsu, conversation with author, Jan. 24 and 31, 1981; see also Ling, *Dictionary of Buddhism*, p. 108; Kosen Nishiyama, trans., *Shōbōgenzō* (Tokyo: Nakayama Shōbō, 1983), 4 vols., 4:15; and Yūhō Yokoi, *Zen Master Dōgen* (New York: John Weatherhill, 1976), p. 91. The various uses of the san-ne as described in the text are those put forth in the *Vinaya*. As Buddhism moved into Central Asia, China, Korea, and finally Japan, the way in which the san-ne were used changed somewhat. The manner of use as presented in the text should be seen as the basis upon which the variations of Japanese usage are built.

11. *Kasāya* in Sanskrit.

12. When used in compound form, *kesa* becomes *gesa*.

13. Ling, *Dictionary of Buddhism*, p. 108; also Gafū Izutsu, *Hōesbi* (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1974), pp. 171–72, 181.

14. Kyūma, *Kesa no Kenkyū*, pp. 24–25; also Yokoi, *Zen Master Dōgen*, p. 91.

15. *Pāmsūla* in Sanskrit.

16. Nishiyama, *Shōbōgenzō*, 4:31; also Yokoi, *Zen Master Dōgen*, p. 104.

17. Nishiyama, *Shōbōgenzō*, 3:148 and 4:31; also Yokoi, *Zen Master Dōgen*, p. 105.

18. Not all sects of Buddhism were imported at this time, so it can be presumed that the assorted paraphernalia of all the various sects did not exist in late sixth-century Japan. For example, when Kōbō Daishi traveled to China in the early part of the ninth century, he brought back and introduced to Japan various ritual instruments used in Chen-yen (Shingon) Buddhism.

19. Takeo Kiuchi and Mutsuyo Sawada, "Hōryū-ji Kenno Hōmotsu Funzō-e ni tsuite," *Museum* (Tokyo National Museum) 332 (Nov. 1978): 4–14.

20. Saunders, *Mudra*, pp. 97, 99.

21. Kiuchi and Sawada, "Hōryū-ji Kenno Hōmotsu Funzō-e ni tsuite," p. 4.

22. The designation "Prince Shōtoku's funzō-e" is used throughout the following discussion for the purpose of each reference, but it should be pointed out that this is not necessarily a clear attribution. Was the funzō-e given to Prince Shōtoku, or was it made for him? Did he actually use it, or was his name attached to the funzō-e by devout believers in later generations? These are questions for further research.

23. Kiuchi and Sawada, "Hōryū-ji Kenno Hōmotsu Funzō-e ni tsuite," p. 4.

24. In addition to this kesa with lattice strip construction, there is also in the Hōryū-ji Hōmotsukan collection a kesa made using the other basic method of construction described earlier, that of overlapping seams. See discussion in the text, under "Prince Shōtoku's Funzō-e of Asa."

25. Kyūma, *Kesa no Kenkyū*, pp. 21–22, 42–51; also Gafū Izutsu, conversation with author, Jan. 31, 1981.

26. However, priests are only human. As mentioned earlier, sumptuous

cloth has been donated by kings and ministers to the Buddhist community since early times, and it has been rationalized that in the presence of such kings and ministers and for the greater glorification of the Buddha, luxurious cloth could be worn in certain ceremonial contexts.

27. The argument that silk is more precious than other types of fabric and thus not humble enough for kesa is a question addressed by the Buddhist priest and essayist Dōgen. See discussion of Dōgen in the text, under "Funzō-e in Medieval Japan." Also Nishiyama, *Shōbōgenzō* 3:144-45, and 4:18-19; and Yokoi, *Zen Master Dōgen*, pp. 94-95.

28. Mutsuyo Sawada, conversation with author, Oct. 5, 1984.

29. This rippling effect is often seen in antique American quilts.

30. Woven funzō-e are discussed in the text, under "Treasures of the Shōsō-in: Tapestry Funzō-e" and "The Tapestry Funzō-e of Tō-ji."

31. Mutsuyo Sawada, conversation with author, Oct. 5, 1984.

32. Seijirō Imanaga and Mutsuyo Sawada, conversation with author, Oct. 5, 1984.

33. Kaneo Matsumoto, *Jōdai Gire* (Kyoto: Shikōsha, 1984), pp. 236-37.

34. Kiuchi and Sawada, "Hōryū-ji Kenno Hōmotsu Funzō-e ni tsuite," pp. 4-5.

35. Izutsu, *Hōesbi*, p. 20.

36. Ibid; also *The Arts of Zen Buddhism* (Kyoto: Kyoto National Museum, 1981), pp. 74-75.

37. The way in which the fabric has disintegrated is more suggestive of cotton than of asa. So far as is known, tests to determine fiber content have not been conducted on the Enryaku-ji funzō-e. Clearly, more research is necessary.

38. Matsumoto, *Jōdai Gire*, pp. 209-212. Also *Exhibition of Shōsō-in Treasures* (Nara: Nara National Museum, 1984), p. 135.

39. Matsumoto, *Jōdai Gire*, pp. 197, 239.

40. For an excellent color reproduction, see *ibid.*, pp. 130-31.

41. Mutsuyo Sawada, conversation with author, Oct. 5, 1984.

42. Gafū Izutsu, conversation with author, Feb. 25, 1981.

43. For an excellent color reproduction, see Matsumoto, *Jōdai Gire*, pp. 126-27.

44. *Kōbō Daishi and the Art of Esoteric Buddhism* (Kyoto: Kyoto National Museum, 1983), p. 216.

45. Ibid. It is not unusual for treasured objects in Japan to be given special names, often with poetical implications.

46. See Hee-jin Kim, *Dōgen Kigen: Mystical Realist* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1975), pp. 312-15, for a listing of the major works written by Dōgen.

47. Quoted in Yokoi, *Zen Master Dōgen*, p. 94. For consistency of style, Yokoi's Sanskrit terms, *kasāya* and *pāmsūla*, have here been replaced with their Japanese equivalents, *kesa* and *funzō-e*.

48. Quoted in Nishiyama, *Shōbōgenzō*, 3:148.

49. Quoted in Yokoi, *Zen Master Dōgen*, p. 94.

50. *Jion Daishi* (Nara: Nara National Museum, 1982), Pl. 5.

51. *Special Exhibition of Buddhist Portraiture* (Nara: Nara National Museum, 1981), Pls. 39, 40.

52. *Flowers of Buddhist Applied Arts* (Nara: Nara National Museum, 1982), Pl. 4.

53. *Jion Daishi*, Pl. 10.

54. *Special Exhibition of Buddhist Portraiture*, Pl. 11.

55. Kim, *Dōgen Kigen*, p. 4; also G.B. Sansom, *Japan: A Short Cultural History* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1978), p. 529.

56. Transliteration, "Bōzu nikukerya kesa made nikui."

Character Glossary of Japanese Terms

ASA	麻
DAI-E	大衣
DEMPŌ-E	伝法衣
FUNZŌ-E	糞掃衣
GOJŌ-GESA	五条袈裟
JUHISHOKU	樹皮色
KAKUCHŌ	角帖
KESA	袈裟
KUJŌ-GESA	九条袈裟
SAN-NE	三衣
SHICHIJŌ-GESA	七条袈裟
SHINŌ	刺納
SHITENNŌ	四天王
SHOKUSEI	織成
TŌYAMA-GESA	遠山袈裟

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